



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

of objections, which have been urged most confidently by critics, whose opinions we have been accustomed to respect.

The subject of this article we must now dismiss. It is one in which every considerate reader of the Scriptures and of literary history must feel a lively interest; and the work which we have been reviewing, is no ordinary production. It will stand a monument of distinguished industry, and of honest and successful inquiry after truth, when the author shall have ceased from his labors, and when critics who are now unborn shall look back upon the controversies of the present generation. We hope, indeed, we doubt not, that the work of Professor Stuart will be translated into the language of Germany, and will have in that country, as well as in ours, and in England, a wide and salutary influence.

Since the foregoing remarks were written, Professor Stuart has published a second volume, containing a new version of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a Commentary upon the same, and a series of essays, under the name of 'Excursuses,' on the more difficult and important passages. Our limits forbid the extension of our remarks to this second volume; which also, as covering ground, in some degree, controverted among the different schools of interpreters, does not properly fall within the province of this journal.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Present State of Hayti, with Remarks on its Agriculture, Commerce, Laws, Religion, Finances, and Population.* By JAMES FRANKLIN. London. 1828.

2. *Histoire d'Hayti, depuis sa Découverte, jusqu'en 1824.* Par M. CHARLES MALO. Nouvelle Edition. Paris. 1825.

WE place at the head of our article two late publications on the subject of Hayti, which are essentially different from each other in character and plan. M. Malo's work is an enlarged edition of a book first published several years ago, and professes to give a summary history of the island from the time of its discovery, down to the temporary suspension, in 1824, of the negotiations undertaken by Boyer for obtaining a recognition of its independence. It is compiled with much appearance of

candor and impartiality, being free at any rate from the influence of those strong prejudices which the ex-colonists have been too prone to indulge ; and contains internal evidence of having been prepared from authentic materials. But it is purely a political history of the country. Mr Franklin takes a wider range. His work contains not only a sketch of the revolution, but a great body of statistical details upon the present condition of the island, as compared with what it was previous to the insurrection of the blacks. His statements concerning the productions, commerce, resources, population, and government of Hayti, are minute and particular, and were obtained by personal inquiry during a residence in the West Indies. Many of his individual facts, and the general conclusion to which he arrives, being such as other sources of information afford, we feel inclined to repose a great degree of confidence in his representations of matters of fact within his own knowledge. But Mr Franklin has a theory to support ; and we are disposed to think his main object, in composing the book, was to maintain this theory, which is, the necessity of some coercion to procure the proper cultivation of lands in the West Indies. In short, although such a purpose is not expressly declared in his work, yet it is evidently written throughout, so as to have a bearing upon the questions now in agitation between Great Britain and her West India colonies. Making all the abatement from Mr Franklin's credit, which such a consideration may require, and setting off his national prejudices against those of M. Malo, we may gather, from both publications together, a pretty correct idea of the state of the island under President Boyer's administration.

Before entering upon this topic, we will premise a brief account of General Boyer's career, previous to his succeeding to the presidency. Jean Pierre Boyer is a native of Port au Prince, and about fifty years of age. His father was a French trader and tailor of that city, of good character, and possessed of some property ; and his mother a Congo negress, and a slave ; so that Boyer himself is a mulatto, although somewhat darker than the generality of his class. When the commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, arrived, he joined their standard, with the rest of the free people of color ; and after they retired from the island, he attached himself to the mulatto general Rigaud. In the sequel, Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the negroes, having acquired a complete ascendancy over the

whole island, and being acknowledged in his authority by the successive French governments of the period, Rigaud resolved to withdraw to France, and Boyer still followed his fortunes. On his voyage to Europe, Boyer was captured by the Americans, between whom and the French republic a state of hostilities at this time existed ; but was soon released, and continued his voyage. He resided in France, until the expedition under Le Clerc was organized. He returned to St Domingo in the train of Le Clerc, lending himself to an armament destined for the subjugation of his country, and for once again reducing the men of his race to servitude. Upon the death of Le Clerc, he united with the other mulattoes, first under Clervaux, and subsequently under Petion, who, after the assassination of Des-salines, secured the southern part of the island, as Christophe did the northern districts. Petion appointed him successively to be his aid-de-camp, private secretary, and chief of his staff; and at the time of his patron's death, Boyer was general of the *arrondissement* of Port au Prince.

Petion is universally characterized as an amiable man, of a sensible and humane character, with a mind enlarged by European education, and a polished, affable address, that would have distinguished him in the most refined courts. Although brave, enterprising, and active, when the exigencies of the occasion required it, he was of a temper too easy and lenient for the duties which devolved upon him, and wanted that vigor of character which was requisite for governing the half civilized inhabitants of Hayti. The circumstances of his death, which happened March 29th, 1818, are so peculiar and singular, that we extract the account as given by each of our authours.

‘La mort du président de la République fut, dit on, volontaire ; sa maladie ne dura que huit jours, pendant lesquels il refusa constamment tout remède, tout aliment, et jusqu'à de l'eau même ; en un mot, il mourut d'inanition. C'est ce que déclarèrent les médecins après avoir ouvert son corps, qu'ils trouvèrent très-sain et sans aucune trace de maladie. Le bruit courut d'ailleurs qu'on lui avait souvent entendu dire qu'il était las de vivre.’

Malo, p. 347.

‘It was generally admitted that the state of his country had produced an extraordinary depression of spirits, which no exertions of his most intimate friends could remove. Medical aid became unavailing ; he lingered, but without, it appears, enduring any pain, and at last sunk under the weight of accumulated dis-

tress of mind, brought on by the deranged state of his finances, and the impoverished condition of his country.'

Franklin, p. 227.

Dessalines, it is to be remembered, was assassinated on account of his tyrannical conduct in 1806 ; and upon his decease, a desperate and bloody contest ensued between Christophe and Petion, the former occupying Cap Français and the North, and the latter Port au Prince and the South, and each contending for the sovereignty of the island. Christophe's followers consisted chiefly of the negroes, Petion's of the mulattoes. In this long struggle, Christophe gained some advantages over his rival, but none sufficiently decided to promise a speedy termination of their quarrel. At length the contending parties began to consider, that by prolonging the war, they should only produce a mutual prostration of strength, and finally become the common victims of their ancient masters. Hostilities were suspended, therefore, as by common consent ; and without the conclusion of any treaty of peace, or any armistice, perfect tranquillity was restored throughout the island. Commencing with the year 1811, improvement made a rapid progress among the Haytians. Christophe and Petion both exerted themselves to encourage industry, morals, and intelligence in their respective states, without neglecting the means of defending their own independence.

But the policy adopted by Christophe, was radically different from that of Petion. The former possessing more energy of character, and less disposition to regard the wishes and inclinations of his people, took measures to concentrate all the powers of government in his own person, established a rigorous system of subordination and responsibility among his agents, put in force the most decisive measures to counteract and break up the indolent habits of the laboring population, and with characteristic determination of spirit, subjected everything to his individual inspection. The immediate consequence of all this was a great and striking melioration in the condition of his dominions, accompanied with a flourishing commerce and overflowing public coffers. But these effects could not be produced without the exercise of a grinding despotism, which sacrificed all the comforts of individuals to the successful march of a system ; and at length came to exceed all bounds of reasonable endurance, and to create symptoms of discontent

among the oppressed people and harassed troops, which gave sure presage of an approaching storm.

Petion erred in the opposite extreme. Although possessed of admirable talents, accomplished by an European education, and incomparably superior to Christophe in every noble and estimable quality of the human character, yet he was wanting in determination and energy of temper. His disposition was thoroughly amiable, and this notwithstanding he was brave, enterprising, and bold. Mildness, indulgence, and humanity, formed as prominent a trait in the character of Petion, as relentless and uncompromising decision did in that of Christophe. Hence it followed that Petion, with the best possible intentions, and the sincerest desire to promote the welfare of his country, had not sufficient nerve, and was too sensible to the finer feelings of our nature, to adopt forcible measures to raise it to opulence.

Such was the state of things in Hayti, when Boyer succeeded to the government of the republican part of the island. Christophe had pushed his despotism to a point, at which patience in the minds of an oppressed people terminates, and resistance begins, for the reason, that the uncertain evils of change and revolution are then more welcome to them than the absolute wretchedness of their actual condition. And Petion had held the reins of government with so slack a hand, that his sensibility could not endure the prospect of public penury, which stared him in the face, and sought refuge from his embarrassments in voluntary death. Petion had in his last illness designated Boyer for his successor ; and the nomination was unanimously confirmed by the legislative body, no other chief showing any desire to dispute with him the supremacy, or oppose any obstacles whatever to his elevation. Christophe proposed to the citizens of the republic to submit to his rule, and constitute but one people as in the days of Dessalines ; but his offers were promptly rejected. On the contrary, Boyer, by the advice of his friends, lost no time in freeing himself from the constant inquietude, which the intrigues of Christophe in the district of Grande-Anse occasioned, where Gomar, an insurgent chief, continued in arms, and formed a *point d'appui* for the enemy in the very heart of the republic. Competent forces under the command of Generals Lys, Fracisque, and Borgella, by means of active and spirited movements, and a sufficient show of strength, finally succeeded in the winter of 1819-20,

in dispersing the bands of Gomar, and restoring tranquillity to the territory of Grande-Anse. While he was thus consolidating his power in the South, the tyranny of Christophe was preparing for him additional triumphs in the North.

Since the death of Petion, both parties had maintained, with respect to each other, a purely defensive attitude ; but many months elapsed, during which a definitive declaration of war between the two rivals was daily to be expected. But Christophe's system of government growing more and more tyrannical, discontent went on augmenting among his subjects, who could not fail to contrast the oppressiveness of his rule, with the gentle and scarcely sensible sway of Petion and Boyer. His soldiers, finding themselves treated with extreme rigor for the slightest fault, and weary of a master who no longer consulted their feelings, or testified any sense of his obligations to them, conspired at length to throw off the yoke which weighed them to the earth. With the military, therefore, as in so many of the revolutions in those countries which maintain a large standing army, the movement commenced.

On the evening of the sixth of October, 1820, the inhabitants of the Cape were alarmed by the beat of drums sounding the call to arms. They soon learned that a whole division of the army, cantoned at St Mark, consisting of six thousand men, had raised the standard of revolt, killed their general, and sent a deputation to Boyer to announce this event, and assure him of the universal desire of the people of St Mark to place themselves under the government of the republic whose protection they claimed. This intelligence produced the greatest agitation among the inhabitants, and especially the soldiers of the garrison. At length, all the military took arms, and a large portion of the citizens followed their example ; and the insurgents in spite of the efforts of the officers of government, set out for Sans-Souci in quest of the king. They were met and joined by the royal guard. Satisfied by the defection of the latter that resistance was impossible, Christophe desperately resolved to anticipate the blow intended for him, and shot himself with his own hand. Not satisfied merely with the death of the despot, the soldiers slaughtered his two sons, with several of his officers of state, who were obnoxious to the people, and completely sacked and dismantled the splendid palace of Sans-Souci. Meanwhile Boyer had entered St Mark with a powerful force of eighteen thousand men, and was received with

the unanimous acclamations of the people and the army. Some negotiations followed between him and a portion of the officers at the Cape, who, unable to lay aside at once their animosity against the mulattoes of the South, proposed to establish an independent republic in the North, with General Paul Romain for president. Boyer turned a deaf ear to every opposition of this kind ; and the imposing force which he had under his orders rendered opposition to his will unavailing. Romain and his associates, therefore, submitted with a good grace to necessity, and issued a proclamation, in concert with the principal persons at the Cape, signifying their unqualified submission to Boyer, who entered the city on the twenty-second of October, and reunited the kingdom and republic of Hayti into a single government. Anxious to stifle all symptoms of jealousy among the blacks, he protected the widow and daughter of Christophe from the fury of the people, and confirmed the former general officers in their military rank, abolishing, of course, the titles of nobility which they bore, with the other appendages of the fallen monarchy.

Thus by singular good fortune, and by the demerits of his rival rather than by any remarkable address or conduct on his own part, Boyer was placed at the head of the entire population, which Christophe and Petion, with all their superiority of talents, had vainly endeavored to unite. This event was soon followed by another equally signal instance of good fortune. In the Spanish part of St Domingo, which covered more than half of the island, there were, at this time, many Haytians, who had established themselves as cultivators ; and these, with the mulattoes, composed a majority of the population. Most of the clergy and men of property and influence had emigrated from the island in 1795, with their slaves and moveable effects, when the Spanish territory of Hispaniola was ceded to the French republic by the treaty of Basle. This emigration is said to have embraced one third of the whole population, who chose to abandon their possessions, and seek new homes in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Spanish Main, rather than pass under a strange system of laws and a government foreign to their education, habits, and feelings. In 1809 the French held but two ports in the Spanish part, Samana, and St Domingo. Christophe furnished the inhabitants with assistance in arms and munitions of war ; and aided by an English fleet from Jamaica, they succeeded, in the course of 1810, in obliging the French

to capitulate, and abandon the island. Thus affairs remained until after the death of Christophe. When Boyer had united the whole of the French part of the island into one republic, the blacks and people of color, who predominated in the Spanish territory, began to testify a willingness to place themselves under his government. They found no difficulty in prevailing upon the principal persons in the city of St Domingo to acquiesce in their views ; and in December, 1821, they sent a deputation to Boyer, soliciting his consent that the eastern part of the island might also be incorporated into the republic. Of course, Boyer received the submission of the inhabitants with great satisfaction, and immediately proceeded in person, accompanied with a sufficient force to put down any opposition which might chance to occur, and peaceably took possession of the country. Leaving general Borgella in command at St Domingo, he returned to Port au Prince, highly elated at this unprecedented success, which left him without any competitor to thwart his views, or disturb the internal repose of the island, now wholly independent in fact, of any foreign power, and placed under a ruler in a certain sense of its own voluntary appointment.

Being undisputed master of the whole of Hayti, with nothing to interrupt the peaceful avocations of his people, or divert their attention from the pursuits of industry, Boyer had an opportunity of enforcing such necessary and judicious measures for the prosperity of the commerce and agriculture of the country, as its condition demanded. By stimulating the exertions of the cultivators so as to restore the agricultural prosperity of the island, once the garden of the West Indies ; by adopting a system of regularity and economy in his financial affairs ; by maintaining such an army merely, as the defence of the country against foreign aggression made requisite ; by encouraging the intercourse of the Americans with his dominions, and forming those intimate commercial relations with the English, to which the latter invited, and thus securing a permanent demand and profitable exchange for the great staples of Hayti ; —by pursuing such a course, indifferent to the hostility, but not averse to the friendship of France, he might before long have placed the island in such a state as to be universally respected abroad, and prosperous and contented at home. France would, in the end, have submitted to the force of events, and the example of Great Britain and Portugal, by giving the seal of re-

cognition to the independence of a colony, which for twenty years had enjoyed all the benefits of independence in fact. The interested friendship and protection of England would have had the same effect upon the external politics of Hayti, which it has exercised upon the Spanish American states. France and the other nations of Europe, would eventually have sacrificed the scruples of legitimacy, for the sake of participating with Great Britain in the advantages held out by free commercial intercourse with Hayti. Unfortunately for himself, and the country under his control, Boyer was blinded to the obvious maxims of good sense and public policy, either by reason of narrowness and want of comprehensive views in himself and his advisers, or by the force of the prejudices of birth and education, which created in his mind an exaggerated idea of the importance of instantly concluding a treaty with France.

On the first restoration of the Bourbons, Louis the Eighteenth was prevailed on by the ex-colonists of St Domingo to undertake measures for regaining the colony. Accordingly in June, 1814, Messrs Dauxion-Lavaysse, Medina, and Draverman, were commissioned to investigate the state of things in Hayti, and feel the pulse of the two chiefs. Medina repaired to Cap Haytien to conduct the negotiation with Christophe ; but his mission came to a speedy termination. Christophe finding that Medina was born and had served in the island, and had betrayed the blacks, proceeded, with his accustomed decision, to arrest the unfortunate commissioner. His papers contained evidence that he intended to tamper with the blacks ; he was ordered to be tried by a military commission, and summarily condemned as a spy. Petion, however, civilly received the communications of Lavaysse at Port au Prince, having for their object the immediate acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Louis the Eighteenth. This of course Petion refused ; declaring that the Haytians would never resign their independence, but that, actuated by motives of justice, he was disposed to enter into friendly relations with France on the basis of a pecuniary indemnity to be paid by him for the benefit of the ex-colonists. This naturally put an end to the commission of Lavaysse ; and the French government thought it necessary to declare, officially, that he had exceeded his authority, and to disavow the propositions he had submitted to the Haytians. Afterwards, in 1816, a new effort was made by the French to attain their object ; and new commissioners, MM. Esmangart

and de Fontanges, endeavored, without any useful result, to persuade the Haytians to resume their chains.

Here the negotiations were suspended, until after those events, which produced a revolution so complete in the internal politics of Hayti. At this epoch, Boyer appears to have taken pains to intimate his desire of coming to an arrangement with France, which the latter saw could be more easily accomplished, than during the life of Petion and Christophe, especially of Christophe, whose summary mode of dealing she now understood too well, and whose forecast and sagacity she had been taught to respect. Negotiations were therefore again opened, in 1821, under the auspices of M. Esmangart. His agent, M. Aubert du Petit-Thouars, repairing to Hayti, proposed to Boyer to acknowledge the independence of Hayti, subject to the *simple suzeraineté* of Louis, or admitting a right of protection, such as England exercises in the Ionian isles. Boyer promptly informed M. Aubert that he should not treat on the basis of admitting any *suzeraineté* direct or indirect, on the least shadow of a protectorate in any shape whatever; and renewed at the same time the offer of a reasonable indemnity.

This *ultimatum* of Boyer's remained without reply on the part of the French. At length, he himself renewed the negotiation in May, 1823, appointing general Boyé his plenipotentiary, with instructions to confer with persons properly authorized, in France, or in some neutral country, for the purpose of terminating the difference between the two governments. M. Esmangart and general Boyé held repeated interviews at Brussels accordingly, in August, 1823; but the parties could not agree on the nature of the indemnity to be made; the French negotiator demanding the payment of a positive sum, the Haytian proposing only certain commercial privileges, deemed by him equivalent to an indemnity. In consequence of this, MM. Esmangart and Boyé parted without effecting anything; and M. Esmangart immediately despatched M. Lajon to Port au Prince to solicit a renewal of the intercourse. Yielding to his representations, Boyer commissioned Larose, a senator, and Rouanez, a government notary, to repair to Paris, with very full instructions for their guidance in their important mission. They reached Havre in June, 1824, and soon afterwards entered into conference with M. Esmangart at Paris. Their instructions were to require a royal ordinance, recognis-

ing the independence of Hayti ; in return for which they were authorized to offer a pecuniary indemnity and certain commercial privileges, in favor of France. They soon discovered that a new difficulty was to be made by M. Esmangart concerning the eastern part of the island, as to which France declared she had no authority to treat, it being legally subject to Spain. In addition to this, they were given to understand that the king would not issue the royal ordinance required, without a clause reserving to himself the *exterior sovereignty* of Hayti. These intimations brought the conferences to a close abruptly, and the Haytian commissioners returned to Port au Prince.

The rupture of the negotiations at this point very naturally produced great disappointment in France, as well among the ex-colonists as the mercantile and manufacturing classes, who were counting upon the advantages of an extensive and favored trade with Hayti. The uneasiness of the latter was increased, by the prevalence of a rumor, whether well or ill founded we know not, that an English company had set on foot a scheme for interposing between the Haytian government and the ex-colonists, by purchasing of them a renunciation of their rights for a specific payment in the nature of an indemnity, and thus quieting their claim on Boyer. Certain it is, that England made overtures to Boyer towards the arrangement of a commercial treaty upon a fair basis of reciprocity ; for of these overtures Mr Franklin says he himself was the bearer. Urged to the adoption of some decisive measures by these indications, and by the knowledge also that Boyer had granted to an English company the privilege of working the mines in the eastern part of the island, the French government despatched the Baron de Mackau, an intelligent officer in the navy, to bring the negotiations with Hayti to a termination favorable to France. The whole transaction was a masterly movement in diplomacy, wherein the unwary Boyer was taken by surprise, and completely outwitted.

The Baron de Mackau sailed from Rochfort in May, 1825, in the frigate Circe, it being arranged that he should join Admiral Jurien, who commanded a powerful fleet on the West India station, and enter Port au Prince, without giving Boyer any previous intimation of his intention, at the head of such a force that the Haytians should be intimidated into accepting the terms of recognition to be proposed. M. Mackau arrived off Port au Prince, on the third of July, and caused the French squad-

ron to be moored abreast of the harbor in a state of preparation to strike a decisive blow at the city in case of need, well knowing that its fortifications were in no condition to resist an attack, and that Boyer possessed no naval force capable of coping with Admiral Jurien. Boyer and his people were filled with consternation at the appearance of the French ships, whose arrival was a most unlooked for event, and their precise object entirely unknown to them. Boyer immediately sent two officers of his staff on board the flag ship to the commander in chief, to ascertain his purpose ; and was greatly relieved on learning that the nature of his mission was professedly pacific, notwithstanding its formidable and hostile aspect. Baron Mackau landed the next day under a salute from the forts, and was received in state at the government-house by Boyer, who proceeded the same evening to enter upon the business of the mission.

It appears that the French minister came provided with *ordonnances*, adapted to propositions of different degrees, any of which he could employ as occasion might require. Boyer must have perceived many objections to the arrangement finally adopted ; and it is alleged that he acceded to the conditions offered, from want of firmness to break with the French, and take the hazard of hostilities. At all events, his conduct was that of one submitting to conditions from a victorious enemy, rather than of a sovereign power treating with another in time of peace. Under such conditions, the business was brought to a close in a few days, and he accepted an ordinance so artfully worded, that, if he did not punctually comply with its provisions, Hayti was admitted to be still a colony of France. It is of the following tenor, dated April 17th, 1825.

‘ Charles, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, &c.
‘ We have ordained and do ordain as follows.

‘ ART. 1. The ports of the French part of the island of St Domingo are open to the commerce of all nations. The duties levied in the ports, whether upon vessels or merchandise, whether entering or going out, shall be equal and uniform for all flags, except for the French flag, in favor of which those duties shall be reduced one half.

‘ 2. The present inhabitants of the French part of St Domingo, shall pay into the *caisse*, &c. of France, in five equal instalments, from year to year, the first of which will become due December 31st, 1825, the sum of one hundred and fifty millions of francs,

destined to indemnify the ancient colonists who shall claim an indemnity.

' 3. We grant, on these conditions, by the present ordinance, to the actual inhabitants of the French part of the island of St Domingo, the full and entire independence of this government.'

This, it will be perceived, is no treaty. There is no party to the instrument but the king of France, who grants terms of indulgence to Boyer and his people in the same form that he would to any other rebellious subjects. All the stipulations of a treaty containing reciprocal guarantees were left for future negotiations, Boyer placing himself entirely at the mercy of his more sagacious antagonists. Nevertheless, the senate confirmed his doings ; and great rejoicings took place at Port au Prince, on occasion of proclaiming the independence of Hayti, the citizens exerting themselves to entertain Baron Mackau, Admiral Jurien, and the officers of the squadron, with splendid *fêtes*, during their short stay in the island. It was necessary, however, that commissioners should immediately proceed to France, to conclude a definitive treaty, and provide means for paying the first instalment of the indemnity. This mission was confided to MM. Daumee, Rouanez, and Frémont. Daumee, the most capable of the commissioners, died soon after his arrival in France ; and the business devolved upon his associates, who negotiated a loan for paying the first instalment upon terms extremely unfavorable to Boyer, but were unable to conclude a satisfactory treaty. They returned, therefore, bearing only the articles of a proposed convention, which, if received, would have compromised the honor and independence of the republic still more deeply.

Aware of the dissatisfaction which the arrangement with France would produce among the inhabitants of Hayti, Boyer had been careful not to allow the ordinance to be circulated or discussed in print, among the cultivators in the interior of the island. They had no distinct knowledge of the terms of the recognition of independence, until the members of the chamber of *communes* returned to their respective parishes, and explained the nature of the transaction. Everywhere murmurs of indignation were heard, at the foolish, the infatuated conduct of Boyer. The cultivators foresaw that new burdens must be imposed upon their labor, to raise means to pay off the enormous pecuniary obligations he had contracted. They reflected that their lands, their industry, themselves in fact, were

mortgaged to France, for more than the whole island could pay. The military, and the retired soldiers, who for more than twenty years had witnessed the growth of independence, which they had fought for and actually possessed to every intent, were indignant at the dishonor implied in the payment of an enormous price for the empty, unreal boon of a recognition of it on the part of France. This feeling was particularly strong in the North, where Dessalines and Christophe had nourished among their subjects a spirit of distrust and hatred of their ancient masters, and where the black chiefs saw, in the present step, the realization of the prophecies of Christophe, who always accused Boyer of being more or less subservient to the views of the French. Nor was less indignation expressed in the eastern part of the island, whose inhabitants remonstrated against being called upon to contribute for the payment of an indemnity, when they themselves were expressly excluded from the beneficial operation of the arrangement. In short, the population throughout the island, exasperated alike at the exclusive commercial privileges promised the French, and at the magnitude of the indemnity to be paid, signified their determination to resist any attempt to obtain money to discharge it by means of a levy, which they were neither willing nor able to raise.

We may add that, in other countries, Boyer's conduct was very severely condemned, and the view taken of the subject in France implied the strongest censure on his pusillanimity and want of discernment. It was said, with great justice, that the king had not in fact parted with his claims of sovereignty over the island. The grant of independence was, not to the *country* but to the *government*; nor to the government perpetually, but only to the government of the *actual inhabitants*. How much or how little these extraordinary phrases comprehended, might become a fruitful subject of future dispute. For the rest, France had made sale of the soil for as much as it was worth, and had obtained highly valuable commercial privileges besides. The amount of the latter consideration may be estimated from the following facts. When Esmangart treated with General Boyé at Brussels, the latter offered, in lieu of an indemnity, the free admission of French goods into Hayti, for five years, and the exaction of only half duties (six per cent.) afterwards. Boyé stated the total exemption as equivalent to three millions of francs annually, and the half duties to a mil-

lion and a half annually.* If so, the condition of the ordinance was worth the latter sum, in the advantage it gave to the commerce of France. Of course, the Americans, English, and others, by means of whose trade chiefly, the Haytians had disposed of their crops and procured their foreign supplies, complained loudly of an arrangement, which, in respect of all the operations of commerce, was likely to place Hayti precisely in the condition of any other French colony in the West Indies.

It is easy to see the unhappy dilemma into which Boyer has thrown his country, without any safe means of extricating himself from the difficulties in which he is involved. Mr Franklin minutely describes the present state of the island, deriving his knowledge from personal inspection of the plantations and settlements in the interior, as well as of the towns on the coast. The result of his examination is expressed in the following passage.

‘Oppressed with the weight of an overwhelming debt, contracted without an equivalent ; with an empty treasury, and destitute of ways and means for supplying it ; the soil almost neglected, or at least but very partially tilled ; without commerce and credit ; —such is the present state of the republic, and it seems almost impossible that, under the system which is now pursued, there should be any melioration of its condition, or that it can arrive at any very high state of improvement. Any change from the present, would in all probability, be worth the experiment ; but the existing inefficiency of the government precludes the chance of a beneficial alteration being effected. Hence there appears every reason to apprehend that it will recede into irrecoverable insignificance, poverty, and disorder.’ *Franklin*, p. 265.

We cannot follow Mr Franklin through the instructive details which he has collected, respecting the internal economy of Hayti. Instead thereof, we have prepared, from the documents he furnishes, a tabular view of the exports of the island, at several successive periods. The periods selected are 1791, 1802, 1804, and 1822, answering respectively to the best years of the Colony, of Toussaint, of Dessalines, and of Boyer ; it being observed that the three first years give the returns for the French part of the island only, while the last comprises both the French and Spanish, and therefore ought to be proportionably larger. We add, also, the amount of the black and colored population of the several years, employed in cultivation.

* Malo, p. 391.

Government.	France.	Toussaint.	Dessalines.
	1791.	1802.	1804.
Sugar	163,405,220 lbs.	53,400,000 lbs.	47,600,000 lbs.
Coffee	68,151,180 lbs.	34,370,000 lbs.	31,000,000 lbs.
Cotton	6,286,126 lbs.	4,050,000 lbs.	3,000,000 lbs.
Cocoa	not stated	234,600 lbs.	201,800 lbs.
Indigo	930,016 lbs.	37,600 lbs.	35,400 lbs.
Molasses	29,502 hhds.	9,128 hhds.	10,655 hhds.
Rum	303 pnch.	not stated	not stated
Lab. Pop.	455,000	290,000	290,000

In 1822, the first year after the union of the island under Boyer, the exports stood thus ;

Coffee	35,117,834 lbs.
Sugar	652,541 lbs.
Cotton	891,950 lbs.
Cocoa	322,145 lbs.
Logwood	3,816,583 lbs.
Mahogany	20,100 feet.
Estimated value 9,030,397 dollars.	
Export duty	1,365,402 do.

In order to appreciate the great falling off in the produce of the island since the time of Toussaint, we should compare the population of the two periods, as collected from the best authorities.

	1802.	1822.
French part	375,000	661,500
Spanish part	95,000	54,000
Total	470,000	715,500

There has been a gradual diminution in the amount of the products of Hayti since 1822. It is estimated that in 1825, the whole value of the exports was about 8,000,000 of dollars; the revenue from customs on imports and exports 2,200,000, and from other sources about as much more, making in all about 4,400,000, which fell short of the estimated public expenditure.